

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 360 IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4180

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR YO GR TU CY

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC - YUGOSLAV
VIEWS ON CYPRUS

1. SUMMARY. MINIC TRIP TO ATHENS AND ANKARA, AND UPCOMING ONE TO CYPRUS, OCCASIONED BY GENEVA BREAKDOWN AND DESIGNED TO SEE HOW YUGOSLAVS MIGHT HELP IN FINDING SOLUTION TO "COMMUNITIES" PROBLEM BASED ON YUGOSLAV EXPERIENCE. MINIC WELL RECEIVED TWO CAPITALS VISITED, BUT DISCOURAGED BY DEPT HOSTILITIES AND NATIONAL FEELINGS. HE FEELS GREEKS BEING TOO INFLEXIBLE NOW BUT URGED TURKISH "GIVE" TO MAKE COMPROMISE AND RETURN TO TALKS POSSIBLE. YUGOSLAVS NOW FEEL MARARIOS MUST BEAR SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR SITUATION BECAUSE OF HIS UNEQUAL TREATMENT OF TURKS. MINIC REQUESTS CONTINUATION US-YUGOSLAV DIALOGUE ON CYPRUS, SAYING OUR OBJECTIVES SIMILAR AND WE MIGHT PLAY USEFUL ROLE WORKING IN CONCERT. END SUMMARY.

2. FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC CALLED ME IN EVENING AUGUST 23 TO PASS ON IMPRESSIONS FROM HIS RECENT ATHENS AND ANKARA VISITS AND PROVIDE CURRENT YUGOSLAV VIEW ON CYPRUS SITUATION. HE OPENED MEETING HOWEVER WITH EXPRESSION DEEP GRIEF OF YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP OVER TRAGIC DEATH OF AMBASSADOR DAVIES AND REQUEST I CONVEY TO DAIVIES FAMILY AND SECRETARY
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HEARTFELT CONDOLENCES YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP.

3. PURPOSE MINIC VISIT ATHENS AND ANKARA WAS HAND GREEK AND TURKISH LEADERS PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM TITO, SUPPLEMENTED WITH DETAILED EXPOSITION YUGOSLAV VIEWS ON CYPRUS, AND LEARN HOW YUGOSLAVS MIGHT CONTRIBUTE IN WORKING TOWARD SOLUTION OF "COMMUNITIES" PROBLEM THERE. MESSAGES SENT ALSO TO MAKARIOS, CLERIDES AND DENKTASH. MINIC PLANS DEPART NEXT DAY OR SO FOR CYPRUS TO ELABORATE YUGOSLAV VIEWS TO LATTER TWO, AND WOULD BE ON WAY NOW BUT FOR CURRENT VISITS PHILIPPINE AND CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTERS. MINIC NOTED LETTERS ADDRESSED MAKARIOS AS LEGAL PRESIDENT, CLERIDES AS ACTING PRESIDENT, AND DENKTASH AS LEGAL VICE PRESIDENT.

4. YUGOSLAV INITIATIVE OCCASIONED BY BREAKDOWN GENEVA TALKS AND GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF DANGEROUS SITUATION ON ISLAND. TITO FELT ACTION NECESSARY BECAUSE (1) SITUATION IMPACTS DIRECTLY ON YUGOSLAV NATIONAL SECURITY DUE PROXIMITY CYPRUS; (2) FRIENDLY NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES INVOLVED AND HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THEM WOULD POSE EVEN GREATER DANGER TO YUGOSLAVIA; (3) CYPRUS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE AT STAKE AND THREAT TO ANY NONALIGNED COUNTRY IS POTENTIAL THREAT TO ALL. MINIC STRESSED GREEK, TURKISH NATO MEMBERSHIP NOT INVOLVED YUGOSLAV DECISION -- THEY FREE LIKE ALL NATIONS TO ALIGN OR NOT. IMPORTANT THING TO YUGOSLAVIA WAS STABILITY AND MAINTENANCE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS IN INTEREST YUGOSLAV SECURITY. THIS CONNECTION MINIC EXPRESSED DEEP YUGOSLAV CONCERN SHOULD CYPRIOT SOVEREIGNTY BE WEAKENED OR ISLAND "DISMEMBERED" -- "WHY THEN COULD THIS NOT HAPPEN TO OTHER NON-ALIGNED STATES, EVEN YUGOSLAVIA?"

5. TITO MESSAGES MADE CLEAR YUGOSLAV PRINCIPAL CONCERN WAS (1) SAFEGUARD INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY CYPRUS (2) RESTORE FRIENDLY GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS; (3) FIND POLITICAL SOLUTION SATISFACTORY TO GREECE, TURKEY AND COMMUNITIES. LETTERS GAVE YUGOSLAV ASSESSMENT OF GENESIS OF CRISIS, VIEWED ANY CHANGE IN CYPRUS' NONALIGNED STATUS AS DANGEROUS TO STABILITY, AND STRESSED IMPORTANCE COMPLIANCE ALL PARTIES WITH SC RESOLUTIONS. TITO SEES EQUITABLE SOLUTION ONLY ON BASIS (1) PRESERVATION CYPRUS INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-ALIGNMENT, (2) FULL EQUALITY TWO COMMUNITIES EVEN WITH ONE

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NUMERICALLY INFERIOR TO OTHER, (3) REMOVAL ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES.

6. MINIC SAID LETTER WAS WELL RECEIVED BY ALL MEMBERS OF LEADERSHIP IN BOTH CAPITALS. IN PRESENTING THEM HE MADE CLEAR YUGOSLAVIA HAD NO INTEREST IN MEDIATOR ROLE AND SUCH INFERENCE SHOULD NOT BE DRAWN FROM LETTER. HE FOUND DISCOURAGING DEPTH AND INTENSITY

NATIONAL FEELINGS WHICH NOW DOMINATE ATTITUDES BOTH SIDES TOWARD ONE ANOTHER, AND STRESSED US SHOULD UNDERSTAND PRESSURES THES BRING ON POLITICAL LEADERS OF BOTH SIDES AND FACT THIS MAKES RECONCILIATION EVEN MORE DIFFICULT. RESULT, MINIC BELIEVES, IS VERY LITTLE MANEUVERABILITY FOR EITHER SIDE. WHILE IT IS FORTUNATE REASONABLY COOL LEADERS SUCH AS ECHEVIT AND KARAMANLIS ARE AT HELM, MINIC IS NONETHELESS DISCOURAGED BECAUSE IT CLEAR THEY ARE BEING SUBJECTED TO EXTREME PRESSURES AS RESULT INFLAMED NATIONAL FEELINGS.

7. MINIC IS CONVINCED AS RESULT HIS CONVERSATIONS THAT BOTH GREEKS AND TURKS AGREE (1) SCYPRUS SHOULD REMAIN INDEPENDENT, SOVER-IGN AND NONALIGNED; (2) FOREIGN TROOPS SHOULD "IN TIME" LEAVE; (3) ANY "NATIONAL ORDER" MUST ACCORD EQUALITY TO TWO COMMUNITIES. MINIC SURPRISED - AND THOUGHT WE WOULD BE INTERESTED - THAT BOTH SIDES FEEL ISLAND SHOULD BE COMPLETELY DEMILITARIZED IN LONG RUN. MINIC BELIEVES CURRENT NEGATIVE ATHENS ATTITUDE IS FUNCTION OF CURRENT GREEK POSITION (WHICH MINIC FINDS TOTALLY UNREALISTIC) THAT TURKS MUST RETURN TO AUGUST 9 DEPLOYMENT POSITION. HE BELIEVES TURKS MUST MAKE SOME GESTURE HOWEVER AND STRESSED IN ANKARA THAT NO SELF-RESPECTING POWER CAN GO TO CONFERENCE TALBE DEFEATED AND HUMILIATEDM

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C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4180

8. PURPOSE OF MINICS CYPRUS VISIT IS EXPLAIN YUGOSLAV VIEWS TO DENKTASH AND CLERIDES AND EXPLAIN YUGOSLAV FEDERAL PLITICAL

SYSTEM IN HOPES IT MIGHT SERVE AS PATTERN IN PART FOR RESOLUTION
"COMMUNITIES" PROBLEM ON CYPRUS.

9. I THANKED MINIC FOR FULL REPORT, SAID I WOULD INFOR WASHINGTON
IN DETAIL, AND EXPRESS VIEW MINIC AND TITO ENGAGED IN USEFUL
EXERCISE WHICH I HOPED WOULD BEAR FRUIT. I SAID THER LITTLE APPEARS
SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN YUGOSLAV AND US POSITION
AND REVIEWED SUBSTANCE

SECRETARY KISSINGER'S AUGUST 19 PRESS CONFERENCE,
POINTING PARTICULARLY TO SIX-POINT STATEMENT ON CYPRUS POLICY.
MINIC WOULD TEREFORE KNOW IT ALSO OUR VIEW TURKS SHOULD
DISPLAY FLEXIBILITY AND MORE CONCERN FOR GREEK
SENSITIVITES. MINIC SAID HE INDEED FAMILIAR OUR POSITION
AND HOPED WE COULD STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH REGARDING BOTH
RESPECTIVE INITIATIVES AND ASSESSMENTS OF "GIVE" IN POSITIONS
OF PARTIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED.

10. MINIC SPOKE AT LENGTY ON YUGOSLAV RELATIONS WITH MAKARIOS SINCE
AS HE SAID, HE KNEW WE WERE NOT THE ARCHBISHOP'S STRONGEST
SUPPORTERS. YUGOSLAVS NOW FEEL MAKARIOS MUST BEAR MEASURE OF
RESPONSIBILITY FOR TROUBLES PARTICULARLY BECASUE OF HIS REFUSAL
TO ACCORD EQUAL, IF NOT DECENT, TREATMENT TO TURKISH
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MINORITY. EVEN TITO NOW ADMITS THAT, NOTWITHSTANDING
TRADITIONAL YUGOSLAV RELUCTANCE TO
INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS,
HE SHOULD LONG AGO HAVE CAUTIONED MAKARIOS ABOUT PERILS OF HIS
INEQUITABLE POLICY TOWARD TURKS ON CYPRUS.

11. MINIC MADE CLEAR IN CLOSING THAT HE INTENDS RESUME DIALOGUE
WITH ME ON HIS RETURN FROM CYPRUS. HE EXPRESSED HOPE WE WOULD
KEEP HIM INFORMED OUR OWN VIEWS AND ASSESSMENTS: WE BOTH ARE
PURSUING SIMILAR OBJECTIVES AT PRESENT AND, IN CLOSE
CONCERT, MITH PLAY USEFUL ROLES. BARRING PROGRESS, CYPRUS
ISSUE WILL BE ON UNGA AGENDA. NONALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS (TH
"TEN") WILL MEET IN NEW YORK BEFORE SESSION. MINIC FEELS
IT IMPORTANT DISCUSSIONS AT GA SHOULD BE RESTRAINED, NON-
POLEMICAL, AND CONSTRUCTIVE.

12 CURRENT PROPOSALS FOR SOLUTION- HE CITED
AMVROS ON YUGOSLAV TELEVISION --
DESERVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION. SOVIET PROPOSAL, HOWEVER, IS LESS
HELPFUL SINCE TOO MANY POWERS INVOLVED AND
NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE UNWIELDLY.

13. COMMENT. IT WAS AN UNUSUAL AND SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT FOR
MINIC TO SPEND AN HOUR AND A HALF WITH ME, AT A TIME WHEN
HE IS INVOLVED WITH TWO VISITING FOREIGN MINISTERS, TO
EXPLAIN WHAT THE GOY HOPES TO ACCOMPLISH AND THE RESULTS

OF HIS VISITS. MY IMPRESSIONS FROM INIC'S REMARKS AND
BEHAVIOR IS THAT GOY WANTS TO COOPERATE WITH US IN CALMING
SITUATION, AND SEEMS TO BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT ADVICE WE
MIGHT GIVE FO A USEFUL ROLE FOR THEM. I RECOGNIZE OF
COURSE THAT THIS APPROACH IS SELF-SERVING AS THE GOY LIKES
TO APPEAR TO BE PLAYING AN IMPORTANT PART ON BEHALF OF MAJOR

NONALIGNED PARTNERS. NEVERTHELESS WITHING THIS FRAMEWORK
WE SEE SOME POSSIBILITY FOR CARRYING ON A USEFUL AND
FRUITFUL DIALOGUE AND THINK IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF
WE COULD BE FORTHCOMING WITH THE GOY IN OUR ASSESSMENTS
AND APPROACHES.

14. DEPARTMENT REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED.

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